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ABSTRACT

Throughout history although Jews have always been a very small minority population, there has been a great amount of destruction and hate directed toward them. Most recently the use of the term "Jewish American Princess" (JAP) has raised a new cause for concern. This study examined the attitudes of college students towards students labeled as JAPs. The Situational Attitude Scale was used to measure the negative attitudes of non-Jewish college students (N=113) towards Jews and JAPs. Situations were presented in three forms in which the person was neutral, a Jewish person, and a JAP. Results were analyzed using multivariate analysis of variance. In 5 out of 10 situations, the subjects responded differently depending upon the form that they received. The results indicated that there were negative attitudes towards JAPs, but not towards Jewish persons. These results imply: (1) further clarification of the term "JAP" is needed; (2) further measurement of general anti-semitism on college campuses is needed to determine if differences exist between the campus and community environments; (3) further explorations of the effects of widespread usage of the term JAP on Jewish women are needed; and (4) campus-wide attempts are needed to combat prejudice. (ABL)

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STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD "JAPS":
THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM

Susan J. Schwalb and William E. Sedlacek

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Summary

Attitudes toward Jewish students and toward students labeled as JAP's were assessed using the Situational Attitude Scale- Jewish (SASJ). The sample consisted of 113 students; 55% female and 44% male. Jewish students were dropped from the sample in order to examine only non-Jewish attitudes. Results were analyzed using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) at the .05 level with form and gender as main effects. In five out of ten situations, the subjects responded differently depending on the form that they received. The results indicated that negative attitudes toward JAP's existed while negative attitudes toward the Jewish form were not found. Implications of these results were presented and suggestions for combatting the negative attitudes were made.

Throughout history, though Jews have always been a very small minority population, there has been a great amount of destruction and hate directed toward them. Jews have been different from their neighbors in religion, economic stratification and external appearance enough to not only make them disliked, but often to make them the objects of massacre (Baron, 1976).

Negative stereotypes of Jews have also existed throughout their history. The themes remain the same with slight adjustments to make them fit the place and time. The theme of the Jewish miser, the Shylock character has dominated. Jews were seen as greedy. Mark Twain described them as money-getters (Shapiro, 1987). A long nose has been a dominant physical stereotype of Jews.

Anti-semitism in the U.S. has been present since Jews arrived but was more often latent and quietly menacing (Heilman, 1982). Grayzel (1968) described the early years in the U.S. as problematic. While Jews were free from the terror of destruction as in the past, they were still excluded by the mainstream. Colleges maintained strict quotas and social clubs were exclusionary.

As the Holocaust became history, Jews began to prosper economically in the U.S. and resentment grew. Jews pursued the American dream with a vigor and the closer they came to achieving it, the more resentment from non-Jews grew (Shapiro, 1987). While pursuit of wealth and success are a dream for most

Americans, when the Jews achieved it they became suspect. Though in the 1980's Jews represent a small portion of the U.S. population, 2.5% (Statistical Abstract, 1988), concern over their power and wealth has been voiced. Polls done in the late 1970's and early 1980's revealed these attitudes. When people were asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "When choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money," of the general U.S. population, 34% agreed with this statement and 56% of Blacks agreed (Rosenfield, 1982).

Most recently in the U.S. a new form of anti-semitism has come to the forefront of Jewish concern. Usage of the term 'JAP' (Jewish American Princess) has been raised as a concern in magazines and newspapers. Beck (Alpart, 1988) refered to the exaggerated long nose and material orientation of the JAP as direct ties to traditional anti-semitism. Graffiti observed at the University of Maryland has read, "Kill JAP's" and is accompanied by swastikas and annihilation references. Spencer refered to similar graffiti at Syracuse University when he said that it was traditional classic American anti-semitism (Greenberg, & Rutter, 1988). The terms that have been used to describe JAP's, historically have been used to describe Jews.

Concerns over the JAP stereotype have been raised on many college campuses across the country. In addition to the University of Maryland and Syracuse Univeristy, American University, SUNY Binghamton, Boston University, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Michigan, and Cornell University

have all reported anti-JAP concerns (Mason, 1988; Greenberg, & Rutter, 1988; Brozan, 1988; and Alpart, 1988). Graffiti, newspaper advertisements, magazine articles, and anti-JAP programs, have focused on the Jewishness, materialism, and annihilation themes. Swastikas and death threats are prominent. The B´nai Brith Anti-Defamation League raises the concern that the JAP jokes and graffiti give the closet anti-semite a reason to come out and openly voice hatred (Mason, 1988).

The state of Maryland is 4% Jewish (well above the national average) and the University of Maryland at College Park is approximately 17% Jewish. The large number of Jews on campus makes concerns about anti-semitism a real issue. Few college officials have attempted to identify the degree of anti-semitism on their campuses. Additionally, if JAP taunts are more than just friendly teasing, then identification of anti-JAP sentiments should be of concern for the campus community. It is necessary to determine if anti-JAP sentiments are the socially acceptable anti-semitism of today. If so, then college communities must not only condemn public usage of the term but identify the extent of all forms of anti-semitism and work toward their elimination.

The Situational Attitude Scale (SAS) is a measure that has been used effectively to elicit negative attitudes toward varying populations. It has been found to be a reliable and a valid tool for measuring attitudes toward racial/ethinic minorities, varying age groups and women (Carney, & Sedlacek, 1985; Hirt, Hoffman, &

Sedlacek, 1983; Minatoya & Sedlacek, 1983; and Peabody, & Sedlacek; 1982). Based on its ability to elicit both overt and hidden feelings, it would be a good techinique for measuring attitudes toward Jews and toward women labeled as JAP's.

Method

An SAS form was constructed to measure negative attitudes toward Jews and "JAP's". The statements on the forms cover commonly held stereotypes toward Jews which are similar for the stereotype of JAP. Each form contains ten social situations particularly relevant to student populations. Each situation includes ten bipolar sets of descriptive words which make a 100-item instrument. There were three separate forms that differed only in whether the situation refered to a neutral person, a Jewish person or a JAP (see Appendix).

The data were collected during the winter freshman/transfer student orientation program. The total sample consisted of 113 students; 55% female and 44% male. Of these students, 77% were White, 10% Black, 7% Asian, 3% Hispanic, and 1% other. There were 79% transfer students, 16% freshman, and 4% that did not identify their class. Jewish students were dropped from the sample in order to examine only non-Jewish attitudes. Forms were randonly assigned to students, thus any difference in mean response would be due to the insertion of Jewish or JAP in the situation, since all other aspects of the measure and method were the same.

The results were analized by two-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) at the .05 level with form and gender as main effects.

Results

The reliability of the SAS-Jewish (coefficient alpha) ranged from .81 to .94 across situations with a median reliability of .87. Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations by form for all situations. The results of F tests by form and of Scheffé Post Hoc tests of signifcance are also shown.

Form Effects

Five out of ten situations revealed significant differences by form. Attitudes were different by form for: someone joining your social group, meeting your new roommate, a friend getting into medical school, someone taking charge of the group, and a friend becoming engaged. Scheffé post hoc tests revealed several different patterns of significance. In two situations (social group and medical school), the `JAP ´ form yielded significantly more negative attitudes than either the Jewish or neutral forms. Respondants felt annoyed, disapproving and threatened. In two situations (new roommate and engagement), the JAP form yielded significantly more negative attitudes than the Jewish form including concern, displeasure, and disappointment.

Gender and Interaction Effects

Gender was not found to be significant for any of the situations. Likewise, there were no interaction effects of gender and form.

Discussion

Overall results of the MANOVAS showed significant differences by form in five of the situations. Post Hoc tests revealed three different patterns of significance, indicating differences in attitude depending on the situation.

In the situation of someone joining your social group and in the situation of getting into medical school, the `JAP´ form resulted in significantly more negative attitudes than either the neutral or Jewish forms. The characteristics embodied in the term JAP (including Jewishness) yielded negative sentiments under these situations.

In the situation of the new roomate and the engagement, the JAP form was significantly more negative than the Jewish form. These results indicate only that the negative attitude was toward JAP over Jewish. While slightly different patterns of signifcance were revealed, the overall result is clearly the same as the other significant situations. The term JAP elicits significantly more negative attitudes than other forms of the SAS. The term JAP is associated with negative feelings in both academic and social situations.

In the situation of the group project a much different pattern was found. In this situation, people felt significantly

more positive toward the Jewish form than either the JAP or neutral forms. The most likely explanation for this response pattern is that the Jewish student was being viewed in a stereotypic studious role and therefore seen as beneficial to the success of the group.

The results of this study support the general findings in the literature previously sited. A possible connection between usage of the term JAP and prejudicial attitudes was implied. This research confirms this hypothesis. While students did not reveal overtly negative attitudes toward Jews, very negative attitudes were held toward the term JAP. Based on graffiti and jokes that have been studied (Alpart, 1988; Greenberg & Rutter, 1988) there is a clear tie between the traditional Jewish stereotypes and the current stereotypes of the JAP. Therefore, the results imply that JAP is becoming the socially acceptable outlet for the negative sentiments harbored toward Jews. The negative attitudes were significant and consistent, indicating strong negative feeling toward people described as JAP's.

Another concern with the usage of the term JAP is the negative implications for women. Minatoya and Sedlacek (1983) found that college freshmen have differing attitudes toward, and standards for, women. It is therefore also possible that JAP picks up on the combined negative attitudes toward Jews and women. The implications are that Jewish women have become the targets of the prejudice that was once directed at all Jews.

Limitations of the study

The greatest concern in viewing the results of this study lie in the definition of the term 'JAP '. While all subjects indicated that they were responding to the concept of "Jewish American Princess", some may rationalize that it is not being Jewish but rather a notion of snobishness or self-centeredness that they are responding to. This type of rationalization of prejudicial attitudes has been defined by McConahay (1986) as "Modern Racism". Modern Racists know that prejudice is undesireable in our society, therefore they find socially acceptable explanations for their prejudicial attitudes. The widespread usage of the term JAP is an indication of the magnitude of masked hostility toward Jews; especially Jewish women.

An additional concern is that significantly negative attitudes toward Jews were not revealed. Most data indicate that in the general population, openly negative anti-semitism still exists, however, the results of this study did not reveal these sentiments. There are two possible explanations for the discrepency found here. It is possible that while people do not allow themselves to own openly anti-semitic views, they can express these same attitudes through the less obvious usage of the term JAP. It is also possible that the measure was not effective in measuring existing negative attitudes. Certainly further exploration and clarification of anti-semitism on college campuses is warrented.

Implications

The indication that anti-semitism exists in any form on the college campus is surely an indication to members of the college community that further exploration, education and action are all necessary. Several suggestions can be made for development in each of these areas.

Three areas of research are indicated by the results: (a) further clarification of the components of the term 'JAP' including anti-semitism and misogyny (b) further measurement of general anti-semitism on college campuses to identify if differences from the community at large exist. (c) exploration of the effect on Jewish women of the widespread usage of the term JAP.

Educational implications of this study include campus-wide attempts to combat prejudicial attitudes through widespread education. Concrete approaches to combatting prejudice are outlined in Sedlacek and Brooks (1976). Their six stage model for reducing racist attitudes includes: (1) understanding group differences (2) understanding "isms" (3) examining prejudicial attitudes (4) understanding and identifying the sources of prejudicial attitudes (5) setting goals (6) developing strategies. Prejudice against Jews and women can likely be reduced using this model.

A second educational approach to combatting prejudice is in courses such as that described in Roper and Sedlacek (1988).

This course on racism and sexism also points to the importance of obtaining information as a way of reducing prejudicial attitudes. Not only should students gain information about different cultures and groups, but they should also gain information about the differing standards that we hold for different groups. Notions such as, "Jews should not have so much money" and "women should not be powerful" can be examined and their blatant inequity refuted.

The final implication of these results is direct action. Anti-JAP programs, graffiti, and slogans are hurtful and prejudicial and should not be tolerated. College administrators should not allow this type of propaganda to be published in their newspapers and magazines, hurtful classified advertising should not be accepted by publication staff, and efforts to maintain "no JAP zones" or anti-JAP programs should be halted by administrations at their planning stages. It is only through education and action that changes will be seen and awareness will be heightened toward the hurtful anti-semitic attitudes currently being fostered in college communities.

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Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations and Significance by Form for SAS-Jewish Situations

	Form A		Form B		Form C		Significant Differences**
Item No. *	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
1.	21.29	5.77	21.17	5.32	26.12	6.01	C v B, C v A
2.	25.77	5.82	23.32	6.68	27.48	4.62	A v B
3.	18.48	5.85	18.05	5.41	21.73	5.32	C v B, C v A
4.	21.42	6.95	21.17	8.15	24.21	6.50	
5.	35.32	7.74	35.02	6.02	33.88	5.97	
6.	27.15	7.99	24.56	7.73	28.61	7.89	
7.	27.35	8.42	21.63	7.75	28.36	6.78	B v A, B v C
8.	20.97	6.04	20.39	9.60	24.61	6.50	C v B
9.	27.30	6.86	28.51	8.01	29.79	6.43	
10.	22.24	5.66	24.15	7.12	25.55	4.78	

* see Appendix for complete situations

** A=neutral, B=Jewish, C=JAP

Appendix

Instructions

This questionnaire measures how people think and feel about a number of social and personal incidents and situations. It is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers.

1. For each item, vividly imagine the situation and select the rating (a-e) which best describes your feelings toward the item.

sample item: You are starting a new semester
happy A B C D E sad

2. Respond with your first impression. Do not labor over items.
3. Indicate your choice on the response sheet by blackening in the appropriate letter for that item number.
4. Carefully fill in each circle completely. The response sheets will be machine scored so please erase all stray marks.
5. Please respond to all items.
6. Do not look back and forth through the items. Make each item a separate and independent judgement.
7. This questionnaire is anonymous so please DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME.

Situations

Form A	Form B	Form C
1. A new person joins your social group.	A Jewish Person	A J.A.P.
2. You meet your new roommate.	Jewish roommate	JAPPY roommate
3. Your friend gets into medical school.	Jewish friend	JAPPY friend
4. Your roommate tells you that after graduation she will be going to work for her father's business.	Jewish roommate	J.A.P. roommate
5. Someone in your class gets caught cheating on an exam.	A Jewish person	A J.A.P.
6. A classmate misses class and wants to borrow your notes.	Jewish classmate	JAPPY classmate
7. You are working on a group project for a class and someone takes charge of the group.	A Jewish person	A J.A.P.
8. Your male friend just became engaged.	to a Jewish woman	to a J.A.P.
9. You are out to dinner with someone and she sends her food back.	A Jewish person	A J.A.P.
10. A student crashes a brand new car.	A Jewish student	A J.A.P. student

Adjective pairs

1. happy-sad, pleased-displeased, excited-unexcited, comfortable-uncomfortable, open-cautious, embarrassed-honored, accepting-rejecting, approving-disapproving, attracted-repelled, positive-negative
2. happy-sad, approving-disapproving, repelled-attracted, pessimistic-optimistic, contented-discontented, suspicious-trusting, anxious-calm, negative-positive, concerned-unconcerned, annoyed-pleased
3. annoyed-pleased, good-bad, approving-disapproving, happy-sad, superior-inferior, comfortable-threatened, surprised- not surprised, positive-negative, disinterested-interested, disappointed-excited
4. warm-cold, sad-happy, disapproving-approving, pleased-annoyed, interested-uninterested, worried-relieved, supportive-repelled, calm-uneasy, accepting-unaccepting, embarrassed-unembarrassed
5. resentful-accepting, pleased-annoyed, concerned-disinterested, bad-good, positive-negative, aggressive-passive, approving-disapproving, suspicious-trusting, interested-uninterested, tolerant-intolerant
6. worried-calm, pestered-delighted, harassed-unconcerned, annoyed-pleased, trusting-suspicious, comfortable-uncomfortable, skeptical-trusting, exploited-not exploited, cynical-believing, bitter-congenial
7. understanding-indignant, good-bad, objectionable-acceptable, tolerant-intolerant, fair-unfair, pleased-displeased, disapproving-approving, annoyed-not annoyed, suspicious-trusting, believing-disbelieving
8. happy-sad, unexcited-excited, concerned-unconcerned, happy-sad, hopeful-hopeless, encouraged-unencouraged pessimistic-optimistic, indifferent-elated, delighted-displeased, enthusiastic-dispationate
9. upset-calm, embarrassed-not embarrassed, happy-sad, disappointed-elated, approving-disapproving, pleased-bitter, concerned-unconcerned, worried-calm, distressed-soothed, not frustrated-frustrated
10. distressed-delighted, happy-sad, disappointed-elated, positive-negative, disgusted-pleased, concerned-unconcerned, unfair-fair, good-bad, understanding-indignant, repelled-attracted